1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. [291] Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a little more than a foot wide. The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Be- [386] sides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of [433] Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 *huacas* or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

484 Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occasionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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axes, machetes, cotton cloth, &c. They never travel alone; always two or more going in company. This is a very prudent measure, since accidents are liable to happen, like snake-bites, or a bad fall, and a person alone and disabled in these wilds, would be more than apt to die before he would be discovered. The preparations for a trip into the forest are simple, but require time. If there are no plantains to be found in the neighborhood to which they are going, a large supply is collected. They are skinned, boiled, and dried hard in the smoke of a slow fire. This is to diminish the weight. A sufficient supply of corn is ground and made into a paste, either with or without the admixture of ripe plantain, for chicha. This is done up in bundles of about a gallon and a half in bulk, carefully wrapped in large leaves and tied with strips, torn from the foot-stalk of the plantain leaf. At last, all being ready, every person loaded with all he or she can carry, they start out, the loads done up in as compact a bulk as possible and carried on the back, suspended from the forehead by a strip of *mastate*, or bark cloth. Each person also carries in the hand a staff, four or five feet long, made of some tough wood. For ordinary purposes, the entire trunk of certain slender palm trees is used. This makes a stick about as thick as an ordinary civilized walking stick, but very strong, and sufficiently elastic to yield a little without breaking. The chiefs and a few other persons of consequence, like the priests, usually carry a stick of the red wood described above. This is neither so strong nor so light as the palm stick, but it is a privilege of rank, and is preferred in consequence. If the party is going on a trading trip—while the stronger members carry the load of sarsaparilla or rubber, still there are always some, either women or boys, who carry the inevitable bundles of chicha paste. Even when going from one house to another visiting, or to a dance, the chicha is not forgotten, unless the distance is so short that they are not liable to become thirsty on the road. On arriving at a house, the party enters without a word, and each person seats himself where most convenient, but as near the door as possible. The owner of the house, or in his absence, his wife or the next most responsible person approaches the new arrivals and salutes with, "You have come;" "I have come;" "Are you well?" "I am well, how are you?" "I am well." If a particular friend, or a person of consequence, he is invited to seat himself in a hammock. The people of less importance are allowed to take care of themselves. In a few minutes the women of the house approach with calabashes or vessels made of folded leaves full of chicha. If chocolate is to be had, it is prepared at once, and offered in place of chicha. This is a delicate attention, only shown to friends or persons of consideration. Common folks must be content with chicha. Whether chocolate or chica, it is served at least three times, at very short intervals, and at last, when you cannot swallow any more, the polite thing is to say to the person offering it, "drink it yourself," an advice usually followed, and which stops the supply. If the people are particularly inclined to be hospitable, and are fortunate enough to be well supplied, it is not uncommon for the

484 ● [251] [482] [481] [554] 574 [431]

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 [415] **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca* is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tumbas* in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

[412]

264 415 When food is not taken by hand from the vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 [263 484] One of the most important elements of food of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca* make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] [484] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 [272] The most common beverage is chicha, although it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] [484] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *bava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 342 [361] . . . in which are congregated all those of the same family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves unavailable (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 [192] The modern house is known in both languages as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
[627] tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[692] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[681] usual method is usual for the family of the culprit
[184] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[423] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
[484] Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[184] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[422] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
692 watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
197

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438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[437] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
414 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[rest continues top of P. 41(B)—analyst]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the nonmaterial culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and
[554] in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and
756 power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
177 ever, his importance not only among the Cabécares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to
[484] travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[rest continues bottom of P. 41(B)—analyst]

[435] [140] In 1959, ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[140] Usually 100 pounds.

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439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling
439 trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
435 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
177 in Salitre where some make their home. The
● 484 Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that
757 behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites; and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[141] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

776 sky, *kakəLjtə*, and traveled from Talamanca to Boruca naming as he went all the peaks, rivers, and creeks. He passed through Cabécar also on this journey. His name signifies *eternity* because "he has always existed and has never ceased to exist." During this period, the Térrabas were monkeys. Later they were changed to people.

[487] *bukLbru* (Cabécar and Bribri). The trail that leads from Talamanca to Ujarrás crosses a peak at an altitude of 2150 meters, just beyond the division of waters on the Pacific slope. Here, those Indians who make the journey for the first time must leave a small [484] [782] fragment of their clothing on a staff. As they do this they say, "We pay equally not to become ill and not to suffer." Those going from [487] Ujarrás to Talamanca, must do the same at *surstsapku* at an altitude of 1480 meters. This is because *bukLbru* is the lord of the peak and must be appeased so that he will protect the newcomers. Those who have made the trip before, and non-Indians, do not have to do this because "the heat of the initiated will protect them."

sirigakí is an old man who lives in a great pool. He is the guardian of fish.

There are many more lesser spirits. Some of these appear in the myths which follow.

Theological Myths. The number before the title corresponds to the same myth given in the Linguistic section of this book: 1/2

(1) The Birth of *sibu*[162] (Version 1)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 [776] *sibu* is like air. He has no father. In order to come to this world he entered a woman in the form of air. God himself, however, went underground through the four worlds[163] and appeared when the pregnant woman went to the brook. There he was found in the form of a newly born babe. The woman joyously gathered him up and carried him to her house.

The woman had some brothers who were powerful medicine men. They asked her whether the child was hers or whether he was God. The woman answered, "He is my child."

[772] [163] The four underground worlds of the Cabécares are: for sickness; for the owner of animals; for dead Indians; for evil spirits.

1/2 [See category 116, ¶¶ 75-95 - Analyst.]

[P.68(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

* 539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting
521 for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men
[538] and women often tell theological or lay "his-
[184] tories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation
521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often,
[184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little
[888] interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally,
431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from
● 484 one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone,
[576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind [TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

* 539 825 [821] warns when it is going to rain by howling in the morning and in the afternoon.

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 484 [521] of food and drink will be offered them. Conversation, in this case, is confined almost entirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 224 226 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 252 [481 533 574] Women and young girls of the same family, particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*bèwa*	*bəmitsɛn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəŋ́* which is a very strong term.

496 574 273 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Iipa* (coyeo).